

# IN PRINT

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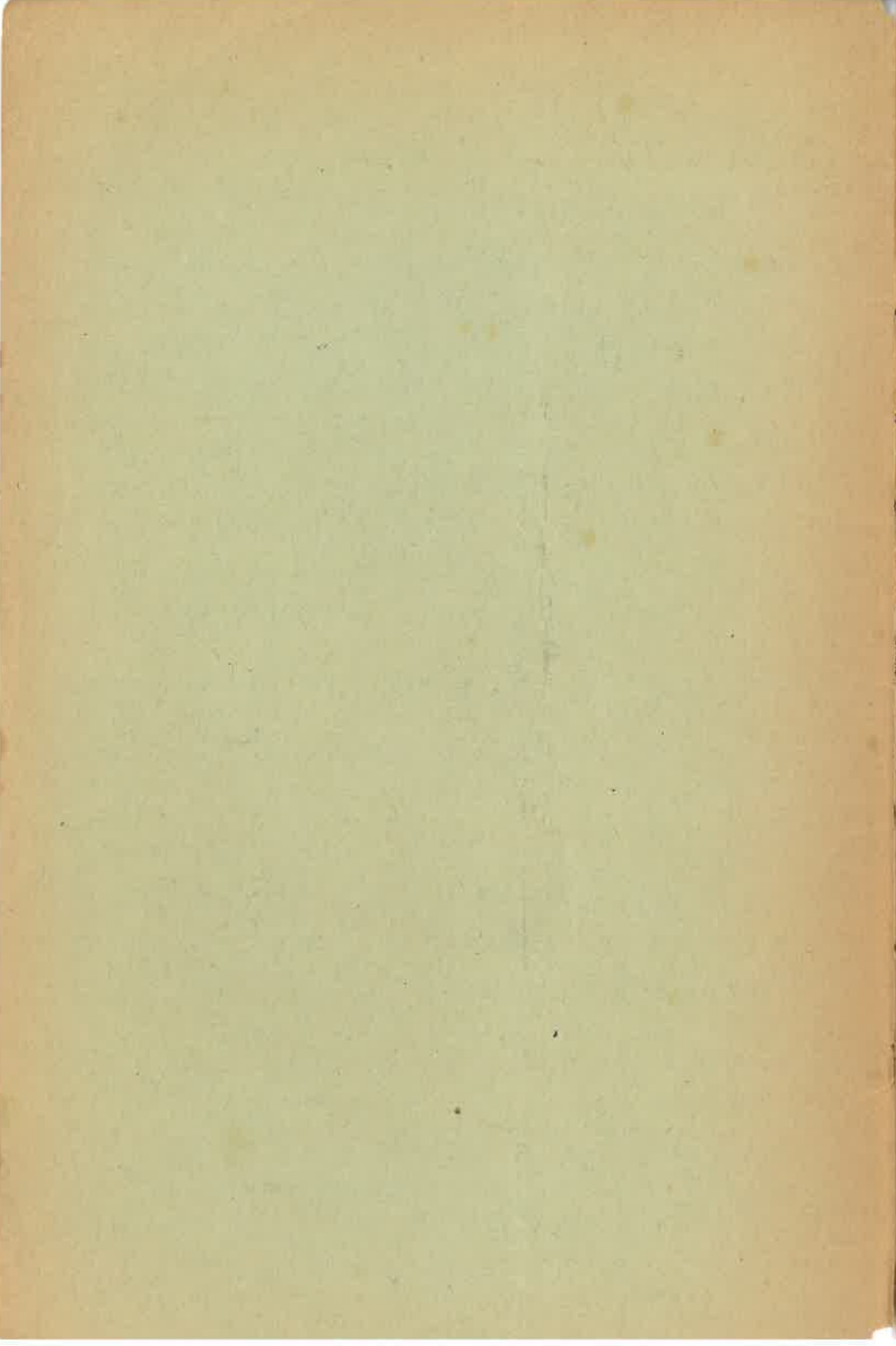
# MAGAZINE OF MARXISM

JUNE-JULY, 1945

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CURRENT EVENTS  
COMMUNISTS LED ANTI-NAZI FIGHT  
"A STEP IN THE MARCH"  
TRIESTE BELONGS TO YUGOSLAVIA  
THE MAORI WARS  
NAZI POWER WAS FOUNDED ON GUN GANGSTERS,  
SCABS AND SPIES  
POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE SOVIET UNION  
GORDON WATSON  
HOW TO WIN THE PEACE  
WE MUST GIRD OURSELVES FOR THE LAST FIGHT



## OLD ENEMIES MEET



At Orakau, site of the famous battle in the Maori Wars, on the anniversary of the occasion in 1912, Major Mair met one of his old opponents. See article in this issue "The Maori Wars," by Reg Scott.

# CURRENT EVENTS

By SID SCOTT

Since *IN PRINT* was last published, V-E Day has come and gone, Hitler has perished obscurely, and the supposedly invincible Wehrmacht exists only as a collection of cowed and beaten men in cages and prisoner of war camps. What kind of Europe will emerge from the misery and bloodshed and wreckage of the last six years? Has it all been worthwhile?

These questions are rising to the surface in many people's minds. Victory in Europe has brought its own problems and there is perplexity about the future.

The trouble is that we are living too close to the events. It is hard to see the wood for the trees: hard to trace a pattern in the little bits and pieces of incidents and conflicts.

Yet, looking at the matter from the most conservative and pessimistic standpoint, it would be hard to avoid the conclusion that progressive forces of the world have emerged greatly strengthened and that the chances of an era of peace and progress are greater than ever before in world history.

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## **SOME NASTY TRENDS**

There is not plain sailing in international affairs, however. There are some nasty trends which must be vigorously combated if the world is to reap the full fruits of victory over Fascism.

There is, for instance, the Trieste affair, a nasty piece of bullying by the British Tories of the gallant Yugoslav people.

There is the unresolved Greek affair, in which the British Tories, in the name of "democracy," have placed in power a rascally set of dictators who could learn very little from the late Adolf Hitler concerning the art of dictatorial government.

**There are nasty trends in the Anglo-American control of Germany, in Belgium, in British policy in Italy, in British toleration of Franco Spain and the admission of Argentina into the United Nations' Conference at San Francisco.**

Perhaps the most serious manifestation of reactionary political trends in the present period is the obstinacy with which the British and American Governments support anti-Soviet and anti-democratic circles of the Polish "Old Gang." It reflects, not on the Soviet Union, but on the British Tory Government if the sixteen saboteurs arrested for diversionary activities against the Red Army should include three persons who Mr. Anthony Eden had decided to recommend as suitable members of the new Provisional Government of Poland.

The British Government, apparently, accepted uncritically the recommendations of London Poles and refused to face the fact that history has moved with giant strides since those days in 1939 when Poland was governed by one of the most incompetent and corrupt dictatorships in Europe.

## **BUT DEMOCRACY IS ON THE MARCH**

It would be easy to cite further examples of an undesirable trend in international politics. It would be easy to show that the defeat of Hitler has galvanised into activity those who fear the onward march of the people which logically follows the defeat of the spearhead of world reaction—Fascist Germany.

**Yet, to view the matter fairly, these very trends toward reaction are a symptom that democracy is on the march, that the position of monopoly all over the world is challenged.**

The greatest cause for anxiety during the past few weeks has been in Europe. But this is because there has been greater progress in Europe than anywhere else—as yet. The Soviet Union has suffered great losses. Millions have died or have been disabled. War has devastated the lives of untold millions. Cities and factories, schools and clubs, have been razed to the ground.

Yet, despite this, the U.S.S.R. is emerging from the war morally and politically strengthened, its internal unity higher than ever and its prestige in the outside world greatly enhanced. Its cities are being rebuilt, economic losses are being made good, and production is rising to new high levels.

**On its western frontiers the injustices of many years have been rectified, Bessarabia, Polish Ukraine and White Russia have been re-united with their blood brothers under the Soviet Federation.** The tiny but strategically important Carpatho-Ukraine, or Ruthenia, will undoubtedly follow suit as the result of the referendum and the friendly agreement between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.

The Baltic States, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia, are also incorporated as constituent republics in the U.S.S.R. No more will it be possible for these tiny republics to be used as jumping-off grounds for German imperialism. The Baltic barons (and Poles) who once dominated those countries as landlords, are politically annihilated and these little countries can look forward to an era of prosperity and happiness such as they have never previously known.

**Poland, the U.S.S.R.'s most powerful western neighbour, has a Provisional Government at Warsaw which is leading the people towards political and economic democracy. Monopolies are national-**

One may be sure that the Polish people will never voluntarily return to the Old Gang which led them to ruin in 1939.

In Finland, a genuinely democratic Government exists for the first time since German bayonets in 1918 assisted General Mannerheim to overthrow the Socialist Government of that time. The Finnish workers, who were amongst the staunchest opponents of Tsarist tyranny, will be able to cement the ancient friendship with the Russian workers.

#### **"FALLEN BASTION" ARISES**

The Slav State of Czechoslovakia, the "fallen bastion" of democracy in Europe, has arisen from its ashes and is linked to the U.S.S.R. by a close treaty of friendship and mutual alliance. The Czech people remember that when they were handed over to Hitler by Britain, France and Italy at Munich, the U.S.S.R., alone amongst the Powers, stood by its pledges and offered even to go beyond them by single-handedly assisting the Czechs to resist Hitler's aggression.

The Czechs, led then by elements who vacillated between the camp of the appeasers and that of the U.S.S.R., rejected the **persecution abolished, education stimulated — and the land-hungry sed or controlled, freedom of religion has been established, racial peasants have been given land.**

offer, but they learned much during the six years of national humiliation. To-day, they stand shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union against any possible recrudescence of aggression, and their Government, based on the resistance movement, is pursuing a policy of political and economic democracy.

**Rumania and Bulgaria have also entered the democratic camp and under Governments representative of the people are pursuing a course based on the interests of their peoples. The social problems in these countries, as elsewhere in the Balkans, are mainly agrarian problems, the peasant problem, which is being tackled in both countries along the lines suited to their respective circumstances.**

The great southern Slav State of Yugoslavia, with its strong and popularly-based Government under Marshal Tito, has organised itself on a federative basis which, for the first time, has solved the national question which has hitherto divided the Balkans into warring camps. Yugoslavia is a model for the whole of the Balkans and is undoubtedly the nucleus of a southern Slav State which will embrace Bulgaria and the whole of Macedonia, as well as the Slav districts still under Austrian or Italian domination.

Yugoslavia is united and will continue to be united by the strongest of ties to the U.S.S.R., and a great democratic federation of States will stretch from the borders of Italy in the West to Bulgaria and the Ukraine in the East.

### **STRONG COMMUNIST INFLUENCE**

Hungary, which was the scene of a short-lived Communist-led revolution in 1919, has thrown off the shackles of the Horthy dictatorship and its short-lived Nazi successor. Under its new democratically-based Provisional Government, set up with the assistance of the Red Army, it is solving the agrarian problem by breaking up the big estates and living land to the peasants, thus depriving Hungarian reaction of its social base and clearing the way for a peaceful and progressive future.

In Austria, the position is less clear-cut for the reason that Western Austria is controlled by the United States forces. The Red Army, however, is in Vienna, and has sanctioned the creation of a Provisional Government broadly based on the Liberal, Socialist and Communist elements.

**In Austria, as elsewhere throughout Europe, the prestige of the Communists is extremely high owing to the devotion they have displayed during the period of German occupation and, indeed, since the dictatorship of the clerical-Fascist Dr. Dollfuss, in 1934.**

Leaving Eastern and Central Europe (Germany is a special case) and examining the situation in Western Europe, there is less sure ground for optimism. British and United States influ-

ence is strong and their armies of occupation are not always used in the best interests of the peoples of the occupied countries. Yet, in Western and Northern Europe also, the position is one which would have been unthinkable six years ago.

There are Communists and other genuine anti-Fascists represented in the governments of nearly all the liberated countries. In France, the Communists and Socialists have had a great win in the local body elections. In Italy, Communists and Socialists who, as in France, are working closely together, are the greatest and most influential mass party. They are struggling to eradicate Fascist influence and to rebuild Italian democracy on a stronger basis than has ever existed.

In Northern Europe—Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, the forces of democracy have reached a higher peak than ever before although there are, e.g., in Belgium, serious obstacles to overcome.

**Spain, Portugal, Switzerland and Sweden are dark stains on the picture, but these countries cannot live unto themselves, and the tide of popular struggle is rising.**

Thus, a survey of the situation in Europe shows that the credit balance is heavily on the side of progress and that despite real difficulties and dangers, prospects for the future of the Continent are good.

One last question of interest may be briefly dealt with. Was the war then a blessing in disguise? Was it really a good thing? The answer is emphatically in the negative. It was a bad thing out of which some good has been wrenched.

Had the people of the world succeeded in preventing the present war Fascism would have been brought to ruin without bloodshed. The forces of the people, the forces of the world United Front against war would have been strengthened at the expense of reaction, at the expense of the Munichers and the Fascists. The Soviet Union would have gone on from strength to strength and by now would have advanced a considerable distance along the road to full Communism.

#### **GROUND FOR OPTIMISM**

But these things were not to be. The peace forces, the people, were insufficiently united. Sectarian Socialist and Labour parties, acting consciously or unconsciously as the agents of Imperialism, refused to work unitedly with the Communist parties in those countries where such unity would have been decisive in defeating Fascism and preventing war. The forces of reaction within the ruling classes of Britain, France and America were, in fact, too strong for those of progress. But the workers, the



masses, and even important sections of the bourgeoisie itself have learnt much from the second World War. They know that another such war would involve the whole world in common and perhaps irretrievable ruin.

**It is for this reason that we can entertain solid hopes for future peace. The security conference at San Francisco, despite many difficulties, is likely to hammer our workable formulas, for the good reason that it cannot afford NOT to do so.**

Thus, there is much solid ground for optimism. There is no pre-determination of events. History provides the cloth, but human beings must cut it. Human action, resulting from an application of scientific social theory may decide whether advantage is taken of a favourable political and economic situation. It was the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin which steered the Russian Revolution, through its early difficulties, to success.

The future of the world depends first and foremost on the strength of the organised working class. A united working class can lead the peoples of the world toward a better social order, towards Socialism, and ultimately to the classless society, Communism.

There is nothing automatic about social progress and we in New Zealand may find that to our cost.

### **SERIOUS NATIONALIST CHALLENGE**

The National Party, spokesman for the most reactionary sections of New Zealand Capitalism, and, still more, for reactionary sections of British Capitalism, is putting out a serious challenge to the Labour Government and the Labour Movement in general.

It is typical and significant that the Nationalist speakers in the Hamilton by-election should concentrate on the alleged Socialist challenge to "freedom," and on attempts to create hostility on the part of the middle class and farmers toward miners, water-side workers and trade unionism. It is equally significant that Mr. S. G. Holland, leader of the National Party, who has been acting as a Nationalist ambassador to British Big Business, has chosen to launch an attack upon the Labour Government for allegedly shutting out British goods.

**Mr. Holland even had the nerve to reproach the Government for not accepting British engineering contracts which were hundreds of thousands of pounds dearer than other tenders. It is obvious that Mr. Holland designs to keep New Zealand economy in leading-strings to London.**

He wants this country to continue indefinitely as the "dairy farm of Great Britain" and nothing more. New Zealand is a great dairying country and is likely to remain so, but it is also necessary to develop manufacturing industries.

The National Party, if returned to power in New Zealand, will put the clock back for many years. It would abolish instead of strengthen all community control of industry and would substitute the control of private and irresponsible Capitalism thirsty for big profits.

In the international field there still remains a big job for New Zealand to do. Japanese military Fascism has still to be defeated, and New Zealand must play its full part in achieving this task as speedily as possible.

**Within New Zealand the main immediate job of the working people is to rally behind the Labour Government and secure its return with an increased majority and added political vigour, at the General Election next year.**

Unless this is done, post-war New Zealand will not reap the fruits of victory but will enter a period of social retrogression. The organised working class movement—Labour Party, Federation of Labour and individual unions, the Communist Party, individual progressives—must constitute themselves the champions of the Labour Government, popularise its great achievements and work unitedly in an organised manner to rally the people behind the Labour Government.

The Communist Party of New Zealand has experienced many difficulties during the war period. Many of its finest members have gone into the armed services, and some of these, like Gordon Watson, will never come back. Directly and indirectly, the war has proved a drain on its organisational resources, but the crisis is being surmounted.

### **SOCIAL DECAY OR PROGRESS**

Never before was the prestige of the Communist Party higher than it is to-day and organisational difficulties are being solved. Recent regional conferences which have met in Auckland, Palmerston North and Wellington have demonstrated the virility of the Party and pointed to the increasingly important part which it will play in the New Zealand Labour Movement.

In the New Year issue of the PEOPLE'S VOICE it was stated that "1945 will decide New Zealand Labour's fate." That statement was correct. Not next year, but this year—now—will decide whether we are to march forward to progress and prosperity or backward to social stagnation and decay.

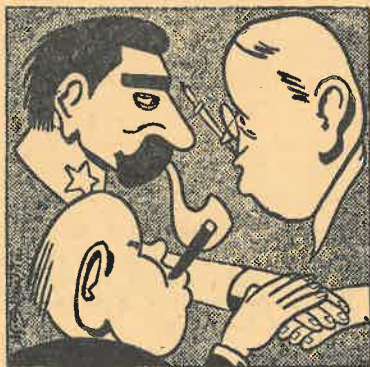
**It is not within our power in New Zealand to change the world, although we can, if we will, exercise our influence for good. But we can make or mar our own country, and the organised working class, united in purpose, can make New Zealand worthy of sacrifices made during the last few years by the soldiers and workers and mothers and wives who have fought and worked and endured, that tyranny might be defeated and a good life become the heritage of all.**

This is the first number of "In Print" which it has been possible to issue since May. The above article was written some time ago, but still holds good. Some important events have occurred. General agreement has been reached at the San Francisco Conference, arrangements have been made for the joint control of Germany by the four great European Powers, and Marshal Tito has withdrawn from Trieste while maintaining Yugoslavia's claims to that city and to all territory inhabited by Yugoslavs and now held by Italy or Austria.

The Syrian affair has been a particularly difficult one. The French have undoubtedly acted wrongly. They have no more right in Syria than Britain has in Palestine or the Transjordan or India. Yet, in point of fact, the French record in Syria, particularly under Free French administration, compares favourably with that of other Imperialist Powers, and it cannot be doubted that de Gaulle blundered into a trap deliberately set for him by representatives of British Imperialism. Britain and the U.S.A. have important oil interests in the Middle East, and, furthermore, both countries wish to damage the prestige of de Gaulle and his Government, which they accuse of "appeasing the Communists."

The only satisfactory solution of the Syrian affair is that it shall be settled by the Big Five. Intervention by Britain or America alone will result only in a one-sided settlement which will not correspond to the real interests of the Syrian and Lebanese peoples, but will be used to strengthen the interests of British or American Imperialism, or both.

—S.S.



# Communists Led Anti-Nazi Fight

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Fascism, now smashed in Europe and about to die in the Pacific, is the sum of monopolist greed and Labour disunity.

German industrialists, bankers and Junker landlords built the Hitlerite State, and caused this war.

But they could never have inflicted Nazism on the world had it not been for the divisions among the German workers and the treachery of Right-wing Labour leaders and Trotskyite Fascists.

The German workers' movement had glorious traditions. It had produced the Communist pioneers, Marx and Engels; the elder Liebknecht and Bebel, and led and defeated Bismarck's attempts to suppress the Labour Movement in the 'eighties.

**Communist leaders like Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg had consistently opposed the Kaiser's war, and they led the battle for Labour power in 1918.**

As German imperialism went down in defeat in 1918, many German workers, soldiers and sailors followed the lead of the Russian people, and established Soviets.

The Chief of the German General Staff, General Groener, told why the German Revolution failed:

"On November 10, 1918," he said, "I had a telephone conversation with Ebert (Social Democrat President), and we concluded an alliance to fight Bolshevism and Sovietism and restore law and order. . . . Every day between 11 p.m. and 1 a.m., the staff of the High Command talked to Ebert on a special secret telephone. From November 10, our immediate object was to wrest power out of the hands of the Councils of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies."

## BRUTAL MURDERS

Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg were brutally murdered by Junker officers, after incitement by Rightwing Social Democrats.

**The years that followed were years of terror and misery for militant German workers. They gave the lie to suggestions that German workers could not fight—tens of thousands gave their lives fighting with the Red Front against Nazi provocation, against the Junker murder gangs and SA thugs.**

But too often the Communist Party of Germany—founded in December, 1918—had to carry the battle alone. Even Social



Democratic police chiefs helped to smash Labour demonstrations, while protecting Nazi bashers.

At the eleventh hour, Hitler could have been stopped—by a united front between Communists and Social Democrats. The Communists appealed four times for that United Front to stop Fascism, to be rebuffed each time by the Rightwing Social Democratic leaders, and to be sabotaged from within the Trade Unions and Labour Leagues by Trotskyites.

When Fascism triumphed over disunited Labour, the Communists carried on the battle underground. But the Nazis caught some 60 per cent. of Party members and most of the leaders within a few months of the Reichstag fire.

First graves in the horror-camps of Dachau and Buchenwald were those of German Communists.

A few have survived the torture and massacre. They have earned the right to help lead the regeneration of Germany—and to repeat their warnings against Labour disunity.

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## A Step in the March

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**A REPLY TO DR. HAROLD SILVERSTONE  
BY WILLIS AIREY**

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In the PEOPLE'S VOICE of April 11, Dr. Silverstone made three criticisms of my pamphlet, "A Step in the March," concerning (a) an alleged endorsement of Strachey's theory of stability through credit injections to private enterprise in a slump; (b) the effect of increased wages on prices; and (c) a statement about the relation between imperialism and a liberal capitalism in developed countries. I give my reply on the three points raised.

### THE POINTS AT ISSUE

(a) While I said that in a slump credit injections, "accompanied by other measures . . . may have for a time very good results," my main point was to deny that such a policy could permanently solve capitalism's problems, as some people seem to imagine. My statement that "it is a programme for stability rather than progress" implied a criticism of Strachey's use of the title "Programme for Progress."

Far from saying that stability could be achieved in this way, I said that "all the problems that we have seen in the working of Capitalism will come to the surface again." I do not believe that

workers would accept stability on such terms—unless they fell for Fascist dope. Incidentally, I do not think that Strachey propounded any "theory of stability."

(b) I fail to find in my pamphlet any argument that all wage increases are cancelled out as increased prices. It is brought out that, up to a point, the workers' position can be improved under capitalism. But it is also stressed that there cannot be an indefinite increase in real wages under capitalism, and that it is dangerous for workers to go on thinking there can be.

(c) Dr. Silverstone challenges my statement that now, when "there is no more free space left for further imperialist expansion," "under capitalism the developed countries that have empires cannot give them up without becoming less liberal; the developed countries without empires cannot remain liberal without them."

Taken by itself, the statement puts the matter a little starkly, as must sometimes happen in a short pamphlet. It would have been more exact to say that countries that had entered the stage of monopoly capitalism were in this position. It may not apply to countries that are not clearly in the monopoly stage, such as Czechoslovakia and the Scandinavian countries. Actually I think the position of such countries in the whole structure of world capitalism could do with a closer study than I am aware of its having received. However, I believe that my statement, applied to countries like Great Britain, the U.S.A. and Germany, and read in its whole context, does cover an important truth. I take the three cases that Dr. Silverstone raises.

#### **THE CHOICE BETWEEN FASCISM AND SOCIALISM**

Though a Capitalist Britain which gave up its Imperialist relation to India would not necessarily **at once** become less liberal, the contradictions within liberal Capitalism would be made more acute and the day brought nearer when the choice must be made between going on to Socialism or surrendering to Fascism.

**To maintain a liberal development while giving up imperialism demands an attack on the key positions of monopoly capitalism, which is surely at least the beginning of an attack on capitalism itself. Such a movement, unless it is to peter out and fail, is committed to going beyond monopoly-imperialist capitalism to Socialism for it is impossible to go back to a pre-monopoly liberal capitalism.**

In the case of the U.S.A., it must not be forgotten that much of its territory is itself the product of Imperialist expansion, not to mention other forms of American Imperialism. Apart from this, however, in spite of the relatively favourable conditions, in the U.S.A. too, a liberal form of Capitalism cannot be indefinitely prolonged. There may be attempts to evade the issue by Imperialist developments, which at this stage, as I said in the pamphlet, would probably involve, in fact, a turn to Fascism at home rather

than a reprieve for liberalism. On the other hand, if the progressive, anti-Imperialist movement holds good, it cannot for very long evade the issue of Socialism.

In France it is possible that a decisive stage in the struggle towards Socialism has been won already if it has not, then I doubt whether the liquidation of French Imperialism will have much reality.

I need hardly say that the point of my argument was not to boost Imperialism as a means of keeping Capitalism liberal; nor do I think that anyone reading the pamphlet would draw that conclusion. Rather he would conclude that, because the liberal-Capitalist way could not be prolonged indefinitely in a world saturated with Imperialisms, he must face up to the struggle for Socialism if he did not want to find himself landed with Fascism.

Though by Imperialism some countries had helped to postpone that issue, now they too were coming nearer to it. That the time-factor was uncertain, especially in the conditions likely to exist in the post-war period, and that tactics must be adapted to actual conditions—this was the very essence of the last part of the pamphlet. Some points were not stated with the emphasis that is now warranted; for the pamphlet was written in the early part of 1944.

Let us agree that in the post-war period a good deal may still be achieved within Capitalism; but, to me, Dr. Silverstone's comments give the impression that, in making the most of the implications of Teheran, he is in danger of leaning over backwards and implying that there are indefinite possibilities for progress within Capitalism.

WILLIS AIREY.

(The effect of Mr. Airey's statement in regard to the third point is that the countries which have clearly entered the stage of monopoly capitalism and have empires (e.g., Britain, the U.S.A.) cannot give them up without becoming less liberal; countries which have clearly entered the stage of monopoly capitalism but are without empires cannot remain liberal without them."

**But if the forces of democracy in Britain were strong enough to enforce a liberal policy in regard to India and the colonies, then they would be strong enough to check any drift to internal reaction.**

Indian independence would not be granted easily by British imperialism and its attainment would indicate that there had been a strong shift in the balance of forces in favour of democracy. Admittedly, society cannot be stationary and ultimately further steps along the road of progress would have to be made. In the meantime, let us press forward with a demand for independence for the colonies without fear of any possible social reaction.—Ed.)

# **Trieste Belongs to Yugoslavia**

**By "SLOVENE"**

According to press reports, the sections of the Italian press and Government are vociferously commending the entry of New Zealand forces into Trieste, doubtless hoping that they will benefit from the occasion by retaining the port for a new Italy entitled, as they would claim, to the position of master of the Mediterranean as "heir to Rome."

Trieste, with a pre-war population of 250,000, developed as a port in the last century while independent from Italy. About two-thirds of the town's population were Italians, while the remainder were pure Slavs. The 300,000 inhabitants of sixteen districts around Trieste were 99 per cent. Slav.

## **INTEGRAL PART OF SLAV TERRITORY**

**Dr. Trumbic, of the Yugoslav delegation, at Versailles in 1918, said, "Trieste and its neighbourhood is geographically an integral part of purely Slav territories. If the town were ethnically in contact with Italy we would recognise the right of the majority (Italian). But its immediate locality and hinterland is entirely Slav. The commercial and maritime value of Trieste is what chiefly counts, and it is (or was) a port of world trade.**

"As such, it is the representative of its hinterland (purely Slav), which forms one third of the whole trade of Trieste and is inextricably linked with it. Should Trieste become Italian it would be politically separated from its trade hinterland, and would be prejudiced in a commercial respect."

Hendrick van Loon, an American historian, stated "As for Fiume and Trieste, the natural outlets for Yugoslavia, the old men of Versailles gave these cities to Italy, though they really had no need for them as they would only compete with Venice, which aspired to regain its ancient and honourable position as Mistress of the Adriatic. As a result, the grass now grows in the dockyards of Trieste and Fiume."

On April 26, 1915, negotiations were concluded between Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy, the Treaty of London was signed, and the Italians had become our Allies—benefiting by a large increase in territory as a result of the bribe. Trieste was signed away with a few strokes of the pen.



## **DANGEROUS VISIONS**

Perhaps their vision of a new empire has overpowered their sense of justice, or perhaps they have generally become intoxicated by the success of their swing over from an enemy Power to an Allied Power.

In 1860, some Italians were so intoxicated with the success of Garibaldi's troops and the French army that they began to see dangerous visions. Their great founder warned them, "Let us avoid every expression which could permit one to suppose that the King's Government (Italian) aspires not merely to the possession of Venice, but also to that of Trieste, with Istria and Dalmatia.

The London Pact, by which hundreds of thousands of Slavs were bargained off like cattle, has lost its validity.

In January, 1915, Italy demanded of Austria the immediate cession of the South Tyrol, the districts of Jirizia and Gradisca (both Slav), the establishment of Trieste and its neighbourhood as a Free State, the cession to Italy of the Dalmatian islands (Slav) also the island of Sattenno and of Valona. The demand was exorbitant from Austria's point of view.

In May the Austrians yielded under German pressure, but it was too late, for England, France, Russia and Italy had concluded the secret Treaty of London, a bribe to Italy. Political clauses promised Italy the South Tyrol and Trentino, Gorizia, Gradiaca, Trieste, Istria, Dalmation island and southern Dalmation, Suseno and Valona, the Dodecanese, and extensions in Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland. Italy was further to receive a loan, and ultimately a part of the war indemnity. Following V-Day 1918, Italy occupied by armed force these sections of Yugoslav territory, despite the predominantly Slav population.

Yugoslavs fought against the Italian demands—their one ally was Woodrow Wilson—and yielded only in 1920, after Wilson had lost influence, and the Treaty of Rapallo resulted as a compromise.

## **TREATY OF RAPELLO**

Italy's leading spokesmen at this conference were Sforza (Foreign Affairs) and Bonomi, the present Prime Minister. By its terms, Yugōslavia lost 600,000 of its people, without any provision for minority rights, while the insignificant Italian minority in Dalmatia received privileges greater than Yugoslav citizens.

Even in Sforza's period violence was the password in Slav territory.

Yugoslavia cannot remain indifferent to Italy's insistence on returning this land—her actions in attempting to occupy this would only prolong the war. South Slavs who have suffered

heavy oppression under Bonomi and Sforza and then Mussolini are determined rather to perish to the last man than fall again into Italian slavery. Italy should retreat to her own national territory.

**A precondition for lasting peace is a just boundary between the States, a boundary corresponding to natural and national conditions and to the economic interests of their inhabitants.**

Ripassate l'Isonzo e torneremo fratelli.

(Get back across the Isonzo and we shall be brothers again.)

Progressive elements in the Italian Government and amongst the Italian people have a wish to end the injustice of the seizure of Trieste and they support the Yugoslav demands.

However, as mentioned above, the Italian Prime Minister, Bonomi, was, together with Count Sforza, one of the authors of the Treaty of Rapello, and he may be expected to attempt to perpetuate the seizure of the city.

(Since the above article was written, the Italian Premier, Bonomi, has fallen and has been replaced by the resistance leader, Ferruccio Parri.

A copy of "Il Nostro Avvenire," newspaper of the Italians in Trieste, which has reached us, publishes a manifesto of Italian democrats in Trieste which acclaims Marshal Tito and Italo-Slovene brotherhood and calls for an autonomous Trieste within the framework of the Yugoslav Federative State.—Ed.)

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**Due to the gas shortage  
the present IN PRINT is a  
dual issue for the months  
of June and July.**

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**THE NEW MARXIST MONTHLY**  
**NEW ZEALAND LABOUR REVIEW**

Will appear in August

Present subscribers to IN PRINT will receive the  
New Journal in its place.

# The Maori Wars

By REG. SCOTT

Now that the Labour Movement and progressive New Zealanders are faced with the problem of a growing colour bar in New Zealand, the need for a wider knowledge of Pakeha and Maori relationship becomes urgent.

To deal with the menace of the prejudicial Pakeha infected by racialism a knowledge of past native policies and their effects could be useful. The present-day Maori problems urgently need to be made more widely known amongst the pakeha. But present-day problems, particularly with the Maori race, have their roots in the past. In the contact of developing capitalist society with the tribal communism of Maoridom, it is the dramatic events which have naturally attracted most attention. The two most dramatic of these historical events are the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the Maori Wars of the 'sixties.

## MAORI STRENGTH A FACTOR

Of the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteeing the Maoris ownership of the land in return for British Sovereignty, space forbids adequate mention here. All that can be said here is that consideration of Maori might has been a factor in its history.

That so much of it has been carried into effect is due in large part to Maori wars and the fears of their repetition.

This is not to deny that the Maori has always had good friends amongst the pakeha in both the British Government and the ruling sections of colonists. The effect in fact of recent researches such as Harraps "England and the Maori Wars" is to show that the British Government held more long sighted views on Maori problems than did the landowners and speculators and bankers who then ruled the colony.

Some episodes of the Maori wars are known to all New Zealanders. From primary school days memory recalls names and pictures—mainly pictures—the signing of the long roll of parchment, the Treaty of Waitangi. And Hone Heki's flag pole, the face of Rewi and the Maori charge at Orakau. And the British disaster at Gate Pa and Te Kooti. Not much else.

## TARDY COMPENSATION

Yet until this 2nd World War the financial aftermath of the Maori Wars was still with us in the shape of Government debt. The Royal Commission of 1928 confiscated Maori Lands, admitted

the justice of the Maori case and tardy compensation was paid in money. **But the Maori people, or at least an important section of them, have not forgotten.**

### **GREED FOR LAND**

Greed for Maori land was the root cause of the Maori Wars of the 'sixties. Renata, a Maori leader of those times, asked "Who is the Maori that is such a fool as to be mistaken about the sovereignty or supremacy of the Queen of England? Or who will throw himself away in fighting for such a cause? No, it is for the land, for land has been the prime cause of war amongst the Maoris from time immemorial down to the arrival of the Pakehas in this island of ours."

**"Though the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed to the Maoris the possession of their lands," writes A. J. Harrup, "so long as it is their wish to retain them, the unwillingness of the Maoris under the influence of the Land League to alienate them was regarded by a section of the colonists as an offence."**

"The settlers as a body did not want war," wrote John Featon in 1879 in his book "The Waikato War." "To them it meant, in many cases, ruin and a cruel wasting of the best and strongest years of their lives." Nor was it popular with the town population, as witness the following proclamation issued in July, 1863. "Many Militiamen of the first class (unmarried from 16 to 40) not having enrolled their names as required by law, I request militiamen and volunteers now doing their duty, or any other person who may know such individuals who shirk their fair share of duty to enclose the shirker's name and place of residence in an envelope and place it in the Post Office addressed thus: Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia and Volunteers, Auckland. Legal proceedings will be taken against them. No postage stamps are required on the letter.—H. C. Balmearis Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia and Volunteers."

"Numbers of them," continues Featon, "to escape service, delayed no longer, but popped the question and got married right away, to the great delight of the young ladies concerned."

All sorts of dodges were tried, we are told, to evade the conscription. "The quick sighted became suddenly opthalmic and lost their vision beyond twenty yards, and the slightly rheumatic, helplessly lame, limping painfully before the inspecting doctor's eye."

### **THEY WANTED WAR**

But if the bulk of the 50,000 who then made the North Island pakeha population did not want the war, there were influential pakehas who did want it, at any rate so long as the British



Government would pay for it and supply the bulk of the cannon fodder.

**"Almost without exception," writes a recent historian, "the leading politicians and bankers of the time were deeply interested in land speculation."**

Mr. Whitaker, of the Bank of New Zealand, and for forty years an influential figure in New Zealand politics, was (wrote Saunders, "History of New Zealand, 1896), "an ardent speculator in Maori lands.

Stafford, head of the first stable Ministry, was himself a large landowner. "Many land speculators in both Legislatures," writes Sanders, "had good reason to place more faith in him and in Mr. Whitaker."

In short, the large landowners, lawyers, merchants and bankers who made and manipulated the Governments of the time had their eyes on the profits to be obtained from the sale of Maori lands. War seemed to be necessary, since the Maoris were refusing to sell.

Swainson, Attorney General in the Crown Colony days, showed that of the 7 million acres of Maori land in the North Island which had been acquired by the Crown, only an insignificant part had been brought into cultivation.

But he writes, "Nearly the whole of the Crown land available for pastoral purposes is already occupied by a few extensive run holders, who have for some time been in receipt of very considerable incomes." ("New Zealand and the War," page 4.)

#### **MILLIONS OF ACRES ACQUIRED**

**In so far as there was a genuine desire for land, it was for pastoral purposes in these North Island districts of Taranaki and Waikato where the war centred.**

The instigators of the war were these pastoralists and their speculative friends and backers. The course of events was to show that these heavily forested areas in Taranaki and Waikato could not have been effectively settled till the advent of refrigeration made possible the export of butter to the London market.

Neither on the grounds of right, of justice or economic expediency were the wars justifiable.

(To be continued)

# Nazi Power Was Founded on Gun Gangsters, Scabs and Spies

By RUPERT LOCKWOOD

It goes without saying that ordinary, decent human beings can't be hired to spy on Labour, to scap on their workmates, to murder democrats in concentration camps, burn books and sponsor pogroms.

German capitalists, anxious to smash the Labour Movement, to increase profits from arms-making and to own and exploit the lands and labour of the world, could hire only mental and physical prostitutes—ranging from girls who sold their bodies, to professors who sold their brains, from gangsters who sold their guns to clerics who sold their pulpits.

Oswald Spengler, false prophet of the defeat and decline of the people and their enslavement to the Fascist-force men, was the spiritual guide of the Nazis. For Spengler wrote: "Man is a beast of prey. . . . The beast of prey is the highest form of human life."

## HITLER

German capitalism selected its fuhrer of the jungle beasts from the lists of German Military Intelligence labour-spies.

The beast-in-chief was the son of Alois Schicklgruber, a peasant who became village cobbler, then sought petit-bourgeois respectability rather than the craft dignity of the artisan tradesman. Adolf Hitler's father became a minor Customs official for the Austrian Hapsburg empire.

He gave Adolf Hitler a conservative Catholic upbringing, thrashed him often. Misery, ill-health, family hatreds, were all part of Hitler's early environment. His father wanted him to be a petty official like himself; Adolf, who had become shiftless and sulky, wanted to be a famous artist. Adolf Hitler's school reports were bad, he failed in examinations.

## SHIFTLESS ADOLF

At 19, Hitler was without parents. He applied to the Vienna Academy of Arts for admission. The first time he failed in the exam; the second time, the Academy tutor inspected his drawing, laughed, and refused to let him sit for the exam.

After that he led a life of unspeakable wretchedness and degradation in Vienna. There was superficial prosperity then—the Hapburg empire was busily arming for war, artisans, apprentices, even unskilled workers, were in demand. But Adolf Hitler had an aversion for proletarian labour. He preferred to live in a casual ward among beggars and down-and-outs. When he couldn't get money by begging alms, he took an odd job shovelling snow, occasionally slopped paint on a wall. As a labouring painter, he contacted the struggling Austrian Trade Union Movement.

**The workers insisted that Hitler should pay Union dues. Hitler had "conscientious objections" to paying Union dues. The workers called him a scab. Hitler alleges that they threatened to push him off a scaffolding. Unfortunately, the workers didn't.**

Hitler had gone from the small village petit-bourgeoisie to the lumpen proletariat—among the scabs and beggars. Rather than seek a job in a factory, he took charity soup at the gate of the Nonnenkloster in Gumpendorferstrasse. In 1910 he graduated to a "Home for Men" which the Americans would call a doss-house. He began to earn a few shillings designing postcards, some of them questionable, and writing placards for grocers and chemists.

**Hitler, a loafer who hated work, blamed the Jews for his poverty.**

### **SPIES, PERVERTS AND DOPE FIENDS**

When the war came he enlisted in Germany, became a despatch rider. He claimed the Iron Cross (First Class), but the German Reichwehr Command, after his 1923 "beer-hall putsch," denied that Hitler had ever won a decoration. He wanted to be a hero—but there was no heroism in his make-up.

After the war, Hitler was still a good-for-nothing, a dust-heap product, an unwanted artist.

He was unemployed, but at last he found work that suited him. Junior officers without work, higher officers on scanty pensions, the middle-class, wrecked by inflation, and the Junkers and arms-makers who wanted a new war of revenge, were determined to destroy the Weimar Republic, which had the freest constitution in the world. To destroy the Republic, they had to destroy Labour.

**The Reichswehr officers and allied Fascists organised the Freikorps and other murder gangs. Hitler was groomed by Military Intelligence as a spy. He collected the names of progressive workers, to be murdered.**

This, then, is the portrait of Fascism's king-beast of prey—a beggar and a bum, a frustrate, a spy, a coward.

For a time, Fascism's No. 2 beast of prey was **Captain Ernst Roehm**, who organised the Stormtroops. Roehm was one of the old German Army's most brilliant junior officers; he would have risen to high rank but he was too obviously homo-sexual.

Roehm, sex pervert, sadist, frustrated by failure to get recognition, was an ideal Fascist recruit. He became responsible to Reichswehr Military Intelligence for political reports on the Bavarian working-class movement. Hitler, who had been a corporal in Roehm's Division, spied under Roehm's direct orders. Roehm collected money from capitalists to pay Hitler's wages. Roehm, surrounded by boys whom he perverted, turned the SA Stormtroop barracks into dens of vice.

### **TWISTED GENIUS**

Roehm's twisted genius built the pro-military Fascist formations into a mighty armed force which eventually brought monopoly to naked power. But Roehm's political affiliations were with the middle-class, and his SA men were predominantly middle-class and lumpen-proletarian scabs. The monopolies insisted that all middle-class influence should be rooted out, the SA men had to be willing gunmen only for Krupp, Thyssen, Schroeder, Siemens, Vogler—the bankers and monopolists.

Roem, in green-silk pyjamas, died on the Night of Long Knives in June, 1934, with a marcelled, lacquer-nailed boy sobbing in the room as he died.

**Hermann Goering**, pilot in the Richtofen Squadron, became a dope fiend under the stress of air combat in World War 5. He was unemployed after the war, and became a Stormtroop leader. He was on the outer fringe of the aristocracy, and was the main political agent of Junker Reichswehr officers inside the Nazi Party. Goering's friendship with the Crown Prince, Prince Phillipp (son-in-law of the Italian king) and other powerful aristocrats made him almost indispensable to the Nazi Party. Goering had all the physical brutality and depravity, the narrow class vision of the professional German officer, and the love of the fleshpots that made him a good agent for monopoly.

**Paul Josef Goebbels**, a dwarf of a man, deformed by a club foot, was often a butt for cruel jokes in his youth. He came of a middle-class family, was educated by the Jesuits, had an acid wit, and although an imitator, could write fairly well. But he tried in vain to get a job as a journalist, and sold his pen to the Fascists. Goebbels would have stormtroopers at Hitler's early meetings with bloodied bandages round their heads, "fresh from battle with Communists and Jews." Goebbels sprayed the bandages with red dye before the meetings. With this kind of propa-



ganda, he bluffed many Germans. He coined the slogan, "The Fuehrer is always right."

### COMPLETE SADIST

**Henrich Himmler** intrigued unsuccessfully to become an officer in World War I, and was an unemployed agricultural scientist after the war. First he was adjutant to Gregor Strasser, a Fascist linked with the middle-class who suffered Roehm's fate. In 1923, a writer could describe Himmler as the man with "the soul and sensibilities of a butcher." He spied on Labour, spied on the Nazi Party, perfected phone-tapping, eavesdropping and dictaphone recording. The complete sadist, he conducted schools in torture. His Gestapo rates as the greatest terror instrument ever created by capitalism. After Hitler came to power, Himmler arrested his own brother, to prove that he was loyal first to the monopolists who gave him wealth and authority.

**Rudolf Hess**, born among the power-intriguers of Alexandria, was an unemployed pilot after the war. He joined the Social Democratic Party, then became a Labour rat. Hess also prepared dossiers on Trade Unionists, Communists and Social Democrats, and had them murdered. He was a bad poet, an efficient killer.

As a Labour rat, he knew the value of Trotskyism to capitalism: he organised Trotskyites in the German Labour Movement, eventually contacted Leon Trotsky himself in Norway, to organise a Fifth Column in the Soviet Union.

### NEWSPAPER OWNERS

**Julius Streicher**, Hitler's chief Jew-baiter, was a school-teacher dismissed for telling dirty stories to children, and became a newspaper proprietor. He was erotic, sexually abnormal. An Imperial Army officer in the last war, he was demoted for having raped a French governess. (He would have been promoted in the Nazi Army.) He was ugly, repulsive to women, another frustrate. In his paper, "Der Sturmer," he faked "Jewish sex crimes" against "pure Aryan girls." This well-paid agent of bankers and industrialists wrote: "A sexual crime on the front page of my paper is like a delicious cocktail, a meal starting with caviare."

**Count Franz von Papen**, reserve captain of the Hussars, was military attache, spy and saboteur in America in the last war. He was a newspaper proprietor, running the Rightwing Catholic journal, "Germania." The Pope made him a Papal Chamberlain; he carried out many negotiations with the Vatican. As 1932 Chancellor and clerical-Fascist, he banned Communist Party papers, shackled the Trade Unions by decrees, dismissed the elected Gov-

ernment of Prussia, so he could put Hitler's foot in the stirrup in January, 1933.

**Dr. Robert Ley**, later Labour Front leader, was a newspaper proprietor, running a scandalous paper in Cologne. His drunkenness bordered on dipsomania, got him into debt and into the Nazi Party.

He stole Trade Union and other Labour funds, became one of Germany's richest men.

**Prince August Wilhelm** of Hohenzollern, who wanted the crown, gave Hitler money from his vast estates in the hope that Hitler would make him his royal puppet, in the same role that Victor Emanuel played for Mussolini.

#### LESSON TO LABOUR

The German monopolies could bring the thugs and brothel-keepers to the top, like scum on the surface of a devil's brew, because German Labour was disunited, disrupted from within by Trotskyites, betrayed from on top by Rightwing Social Democrats.

The Allied victory in Europe has not only been the triumph of decency over the brothel-keeper, of humanity over the Stormtroop torturer.

It has been a victory over monopoly itself, and Labour will emerge stronger, more united all over the world.

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## Political Economy in the Soviet Union

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### PART V

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In the planned, Socialist economy of the U.S.S.R. commodities are subject to purchase and sale and they have prices, which are the monetary expression of their value. The main mass of the commodities offered for sale belong to the State and its organs and to the co-operatives.

To this group belong the whole output of enterprises of a consistently Socialist type and, from the socialised part of collective farms and industrial artels (also from the personal subsidiary establishments of the collective farmers, the individual peasant households, and the handicraft workers outside the co-operatives), that part of the production which arrives at the disposal of the State and the co-operatives, by way of compulsory deliveries, payments in kind, purchases, etc.

All this mass of commodities is sold at prices fixed by the State. However, some commodities are sold on an unorganised market by individual citizens.

## **TWO MARKETS**

To this group belong the output of the subsidiary establishments of the individual collective farmers, the output of the individual peasants and handicraft workers, and also that share of the socialised part of the collective farm output which is distributed in kind according to workdays and then sold by the collective farmers on the market.

As is known, these commodities are sold at prices that are formed on the market. Thus, in the Soviet economy there are as a matter of fact two markets and two kinds of prices.

Utilising the law of value, the Soviet State sets as its goal the fixing of the prices on commodities, starting with the socially necessary expenses incurred in their production. In the fixing of prices two tasks are taken into consideration: that of Socialist accumulation and that of the raising of the material well-being and cultural level of the toiling masses.

**The point of departure in the fixing of prices is provided by the social costs of production. These include the sum total of the costs of production of the commodity, i.e., the total value of the commodities produced in Socialist enterprises.**

In the fixing of commodity prices there is some deviation from their value in correspondence with whatever tasks are confronting the Soviet State; the prices set also depend on the quantity of commodities of definite types that can be offered for sale in the case of a given value of production and social demand.

## **STRUGGLE BETWEEN MARKETS**

Between the organised market, which is in the hands of the Soviet State, and the free market element a struggle goes on. In order to gain possession of the market in its entirety, in order to have the determination of market prices completely in its power, the Soviet State must have at its disposal huge masses of commodities, huge reserves of all types of commodities.

**The fact that a commodity produced in a Socialist society is a use value on the one hand and a value on the other is of fundamental significance in a planned, Socialist economy.**

The national economic plan of the State provides that each enterprise shall produce a specific product, i.e., that it shall produce specific use values. At the same time fulfillment of the plan pre-supposes a definite level of expenditure of labour and materials of production, i.e., in other words, a definite value of

output. The plan specifies the production programme of an enterprise in both physical and value units, since it is concerned as much with the use values of the commodities as with their values.

In Soviet society the variety of goods and their quality are matters of concern to the State and are subject to strict control by the State. This is how it stands with the use values of commodities that are products of Socialist production. Of no less significance in a planned, Socialist economy is the value of commodities.

**Cost accounting, based on conscious utilisation of the law of value, is the indispensable method for the planned direction of the national economy under Socialism.**

Socialist management is based on the precise measurement and balancing of the expenditures in labour and materials on the one hand against the results of production on the other. This kind of balancing takes place in every Socialist enterprise. But the comparison of the expenditures of an enterprise over a certain period of time with the whole mass produced during this production period presupposes the reduction of both expenses and products to a single denominator.

#### **EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF MONEY**

There is such a common denominator: the value of commodities. In cost accounting the basic feature is the fact that the expenditures and products of production are carried on the books in their value expressions, i.e., they are expressed as definite sums of money.

In a Socialist society the value of a commodity is determined, not by the individual expenditure of the labour that is actually put into the commodity's production, but by the quantity of labour that is socially necessary for its production and reproduction. Strict cost accounting makes it possible to uncover and root out unnecessary, unproductive expenses and losses of every kind and extravagance of all varieties, and to reduce to a minimum the individual costs of production in any given enterprise.

**In a Socialist society the product of labour is a commodity; it has use value and value. This means that labour in a Socialist society has two aspects: on the one hand it is concrete labour, producing use value, on the other hand it is abstract labour, a definite portion of the aggregate of labour expended on social production.**

But this twofold character of labour is no longer bound up with the contradiction between individual and social labour that characterises commodity production based on private property. The labour of individual workers engaged in social enterprises



bears a directly social character. Every useful expenditure of labour is directly, and not in a roundabout way, a part of social labour, since social labour is organised, according to a plan, on a scale embracing the whole national economy. Therefore we have here overcome that special attribute of commodity production: that labour expended on the production of useful objects may turn out to be unneeded by society; that it may not find social recognition, that a commodity that has been produced will not be sold.

On the basis of the predominance of private ownership the producers of commodities receive in the exchange process full compensation for their labour only on the average, amid countless fluctuations and disturbances, and under capitalism the producer's right of property in the product of his own labour has been replaced, through the action of the laws of capitalist production, by the right of the capitalist to appropriate the product of another man's unpaid labour. In socialist society every expenditure of labour that is useful to society is rewarded by society.

As a product of Socialist production, the commodity no longer embodies in itself those contradictions that are inseparable from it as a product of petty-commodity or capitalist production: the contradictions between use value and value and between individual and social labour. It follows that the commodity is no longer the bearer of those contradictions which in their further development inevitably lead to the rise of Capitalistic exploitation, to crises, etc.

#### **LAW OF VALUE EXISTS UNDER SOCIALISM**

Thus we see that there is no basis whatever for thinking that the law of value has been liquidated in the socialistic system of national economy. On the contrary, it operates under Socialism, but its operation has undergone a transformation. Under Capitalism the law of value functions as the spontaneous law of the market, inevitably bound up with the destruction of productive forces, with crises and anarchy of production. Under Socialism it functions as a law that is consciously applied by the Soviet state in conditions of the planned operation of the national economy, in conditions of the crisisless development of the economy. The transformation in the operation of the law of value in a planned, Socialist economy is revealed primarily in the fact that the law of value no longer directs the means of production among the different branches, i.e. to the production of different use values. In a Socialist society the assignment of funds and labour power to individual branches of production is effected in a planned way, according to the basic tasks of Socialist construction.

The proportions of co-relationships which prevail in the development of the individual branches of the national economy in the Socialist system are radically different from the proportions

and co-relationships that would have been established by the spontaneous forces of the market in Capitalist conditions.

**Further, the law of value under capitalism operates through the law of the average rate of profit, whereas in the Socialist system of national economy the law of the average rate of profit has lost its significance.**

The law of the average rate of profit under Capitalism so operates that an enterprise yielding a profit below the average is doomed to ruin and is finally liquidated. Capitalists with their capitals rush into those branches of production where profit is high.

(To be concluded)

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# Gordon Watson

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## AN APPRECIATION AND A MEMORIAL

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The death in action, in Italy, of Clement Gordon Watson brings to its close a young life that was otherwise destined to make a great contribution to the political and cultural future of New Zealand.

**In the 33 years of his brimful life, as a student, writer, public speaker, political organiser and private soldier of the N.Z.E.F., Gordon contrived to bequeath to his country an outstanding legacy of political and literary writing, both prose and verse.**

The extent and competence of his output is appreciated by comparatively few people, for Watson, in a characteristically modest and unassuming manner, freely wrote scores of magazine and newspaper contributions, often unsigned, without thought of ever collecting his work.

More recently, while an infantryman of the 3rd N.Z. Division in the Pacific, Gordon turned his talents to the writing of verse, which has been widely popularised and which as surely will find its place in the English language literature of this war. Appropriately, it is in his Pacific verse that he summarises what is now the total of his life's work and purpose.

Above all else, Gordon loved life. He delighted in the simple pleasures of ordinary folk. His robust good humour moved him with equal ease in the cloisters of high learning or in conversations with workers and soldiers.

## SINGING DAYS ARE OVER

Watching the burial of New Zealand dead at Falamai in the Pacific, he writes:

"Now singing days are over, scattered  
Song and singer lie  
Silent, as silent as the crosses are  
At Falamai."

Gordon was easily the world's worst singer, but, characteristically, and despite the saddened moment, he recalls the happier camaraderie of song that unites soldiers the world over.

From his great love of life, Gordon derived his deep indi-



GORDON WATSON

vidual loves—New Zealand, humanity, and classic literature.

At Falamai he wistfully remembers where—

"Pohutukawa sprinkles blood to some North Auckland beach."  
Yet grimly asserts the determination of a New Zealand patriot—

"Weigh this. The greater death and loss of all  
Should Queen Street see.  
The Bloody Sun displayed, and horror fall  
On Lambton Quay."

Ardently a New Zealander, Gordon was never more deeply stirred than by ideals and events of international collaboration. In the United Nations and in Teheran, Watson saw the dawn of a great future for the world's peoples. Eloquently and impressively, he sought to elevate New Zealand to the highest position in the comity of nations.

Honouring our dead at Falamai—little knowing it to be an epitaph to serve himself, later and half a world away—he writes:

"Each silent lad  
Is kin with those who held El Alamein  
And Stalingrad."

## HE HATED WAR

Gordon loathed war. He confessed that whilst fighting in action he felt an almost unendurable revulsion against killing. Yet this man, who so loved life, loved humanity and the cause of freedom more in that he died, as we now know, after days of bitter fighting in circumstances of utterly selfless and uncomplaining devotion to duty.

Of his love of classic literature much could be written. No one could forget the entranced fireside circle that hung, uncomprehending, upon the richness of sound and feeling that Gordon could infuse into a reading of Goethe—in German. Nor could one forget how, ignoring a compliment to his verse writing, he would say reflectively, "You know, I think the neat compression of the sonnet makes it the greatest of all poetic forms."

And so it was that in his last writings, he strove to express his ideas in the classic forms that he loved and revered.

## MUCH WAS EXPECTED OF HIM

Gordon would be the last person to over-estimate his literary and political importance. Clearly he had not remotely approached the zenith of his powers in either sphere. But to those who knew him intimately it was obvious that a tremendous future lay ahead of him in his ever-growing maturity of thought and expressive dexterity. It has been said that Gordon Watson would one day be "Michael Joseph Savage plus." The allusion is not inappropriate.

That Gordon no longer lives, is to many of his friends almost incomprehensible. But for thousands of New Zealand people he will continue to live in his writing. Wherefore a start has been made to collate his work with a view to publishing a memorial volume of selections of his output.

## PLAN FOR A MEMORIAL VOLUME

To this sad but elevating task, a group of distinguished workers has been recruited from University, cultural and political circles. A volume is planned which will not only memorial Gordon's work, but which will be representative of the highest skill and craftsmanship of New Zealand printing.

Such a book, to be consistent with Gordon's outlook, must be inexpensively priced. Accordingly an opportunity is being offered to the wide circle of people who will desire to pay tribute to him, to subscribe towards its cost of publication.

The sum of £600 will permit the publication of a volume that will bear the hall-mark of New Zealand publishing craft.

IN PRINT



It is proposed that, unless otherwise instructed, the publishers will include in the book a dedication sheet bearing the names only of all subscribers to the memorial.

Subscriptions should be directed to:

Mrs. M. C. Marks,  
29 North Terrace,  
Wellington, W.1.

by whom all subscriptions will be formally acknowledged.

For those who are undertaking this work, and for those who will be supporting it, Gordon has already, with seeming intuition, written his own dedication in a battalion magazine that he inspired and edited.

**"May you be our publishers—  
All the brave people of the happier years,  
Children of the after-time,  
In the untroubled homes of the new land  
Where the steady hills climb,  
Living among the lights and the calm,  
And looking with level eyes  
On clean, straight cities and rich fields  
And kind New Zealand skies."**

And so, dear Gordon, who never thought of yourself except as one among your fellows, we will do this last thing for you alone. We will be **your** publishers.

—521829, L/Cpl. B. A. FORTUNE.

## DISCUSSION

# Winning the Peace

Sir,—The basis of peace is being laid at the San Francisco Conference, where individual enterprise in power politics, a sure source of war, is now surrendering its private power politics to Socialist power politics. This Conference realises that in order to build peace one must discard the socially and economically obsolete.

If the Monopoly Shickelgrubers want to return to the feudal dead world, no one will stop them. The war has shown that society will not be lured further into the Buchenwalds, Belsens or Dachaus of Fascism. A transient peace between wars is not enough. A peace worth the name involves a degree of gradualness, if so, with the enemy on our doorstep, this gradualness must

be that of the rocket and not that of the centipede or lobster. The conflict for self must be replaced by a commonwealth struggle so as to eradicate jungle law, and to lift man above the insect.

By building Socialism we build peace. The instruments are: propaganda by speech, press and radio Town clubs for soldiers, housewives and youths, Trades Unions, Labour Parties, Socialists, Communists, farmers and all radical elements, while adhering individually to their own political objectives, should unite in forming a united front as a bastion of resistance against the enemies of the people.

—H.L.

[It has been necessary, owing to space considerations, to abbreviate this letter.—Ed.]

# Must Gird Ourselves for the Last Fight

The following statement was issued by the Secretariat of the Australian Communist Party:

Nazism has been smashed by the iron forces of outraged democracy. Europe has been liberated from the Junker jackboot and the Fascist hell-camps.

The European Labour Movement is free of the Fascist terror and has reconstituted itself as a more powerful and united movement than ever before. The Labour Movement leads the way to the New Order in Europe, just as it led the underground struggle against barbarous Fascism.

The main centres of Fascism in Europe have been destroyed. Rejoicing at this momentous victory of civilisation over savagery, democracy over despotism, of labour over reaction, we must gird ourselves for the last fight against Fascism, for the reduction of its Asiatic fortress—the brutal Japanese Empire.

## **BITTER BATTLES TO COME**

This means that for some time yet the Australian people must still accept wartime sacrifices. Our brave troops have yet many bitter battles to fight before they enter in triumph the enemy capital—Tokio.

Only then can Peace and Security come to the Australian nation. We must produce the food and munitions necessary to keep the armies fighting.

**We must continue to accept the hardships of war, and give loyal support to the Labour Government in all measures needed to ensure speedy termination of the Pacific War. Stoppages of work must be avoided.**

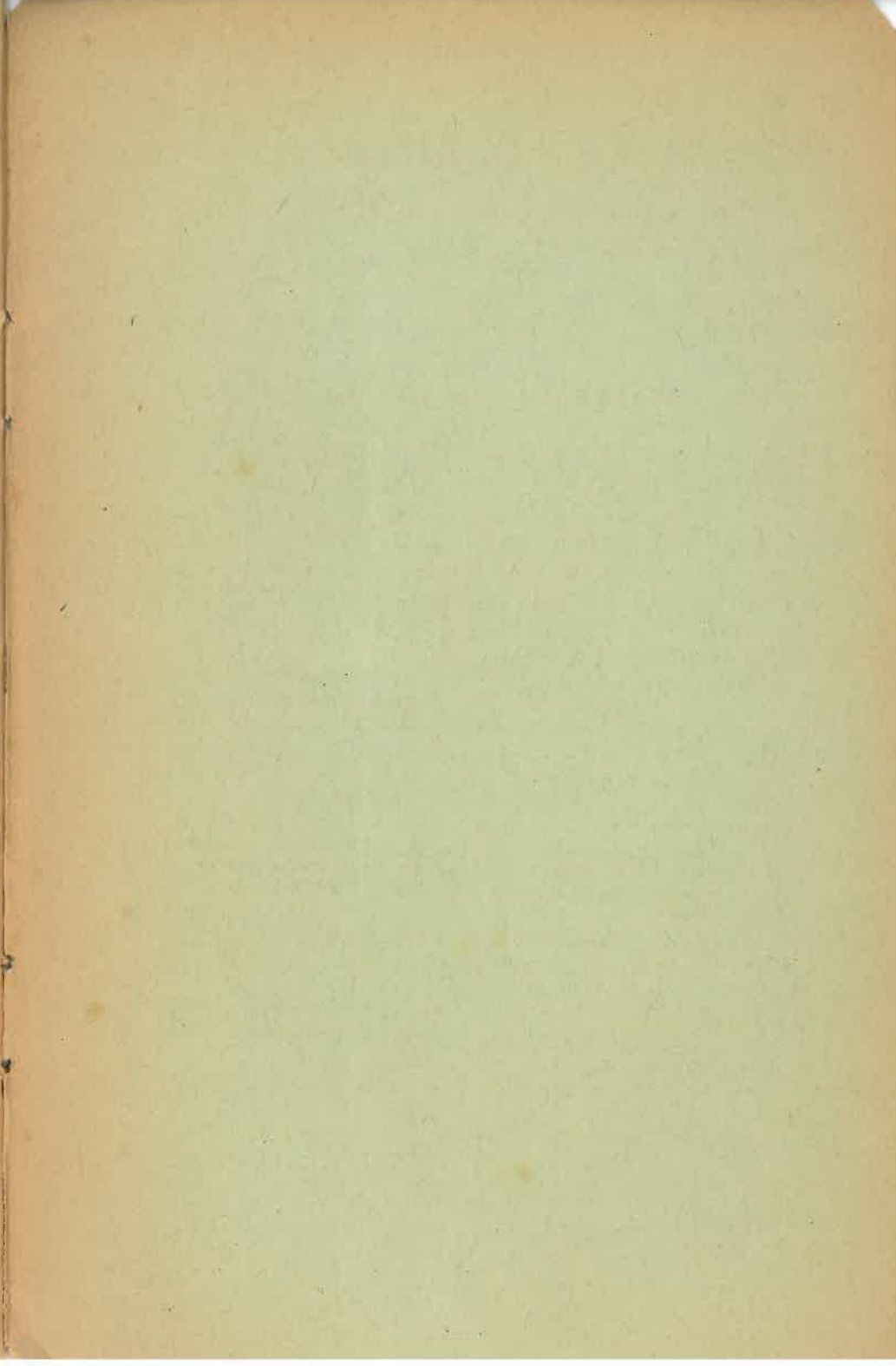
Enemies of national unity and disruptors of the war effort must be rebuffed by the united democratic people. Black marketeers and war profiteers must be punished.

Employers who see in the war an opportunity to deal blows at the Trade Union Movement must be ruthlessly dealt with. Victory clears the way for post-war reconstruction, for a new and prosperous Australian society, as planned by the Labour Movement for the people.

Long live democracy! Long live the international unity of the democratic peoples!

Berlin has fallen, the leaders of Fascism are defeated. On to final victory!

**ON TO TOKIO!**





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